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PAGE 01 BANGUI 02390 2413102
ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ADS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-06 H-01
INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 NSCE-00
SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00 IO-14 A-02 OPR-02 OC-06
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----------069726 2413252 /42
O R 240917Z SEP 79
FM AMEMBASSY BANGUI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2334
INFO AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSO LIBREVILLE
AMEMBASSY NDJAMENA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE BANGUI 2390

E.O.12065: N/A
TAGS: PINT, PINS, CT
SUBJ: FIRST POLITICAL PROBLEMS FOR DACKO AND CAR

1. SUMMARY: ALTHOUGH MOOD IN BANGUI IS STILL JUBILANT AND ENTHUSIASTIC, PRESIDENT DACKO IS ALREADY HAVING TO FACE SERIOUS POLITICAL PROBLEMS. THERE HAVE BEEN DEMONSTRATIONS AND PROTESTS AGAINST SELECTION OF HENGSI MAIDOU AS VICE PRESIDENT AND PRIME MINISTER. DACKO HAS DEFENDED MAIDOU SAYING THAT LATTER WORKED CLOSELY WITH HIM IN ARRANGING BOKASSA'S OVERTHROW. EXILED OPPOSITION LEADER SYLVESTRE BANGUI ARRIVED SEPTEMBER 1 AND FORMER PRIME MIN ANGE PATASSE IS EXPECTED TODAY. DACKO WILL HAVE PROBLEMS SELECTING NEW GOVERNMENT, MUST PROSECUTE AT LEAST SOME OF THOSE ASSOCIATED WITH BOKASSA, AND PERHAPS MOST DIFFICULT WILL BE WHAT TO DO ABOUT THE FORMER EMPEROR WHEREEVER HE MAY BE. END SUMMARY.

2. ABOUT 1600 DEMONSTRATORS REPRESENTING TEACHERS UNION MARCHED
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ON DOWNTOWN PALACE SEPT 23 IN SUPPORT OF PRES. DACKO BUT PROTES-

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TING THE CONTINUATION IN GOCAR OF FORMER PRIMIN MAIDOU. MARCH WAS PEACEFUL AND NUMBERS SWELLED BY SEVERAL HUNDRED SMALL CHILDREN. DACKO RECEIVED DELEGATION OF TEACHERS AND STUDENTS IN PUBLIC AUDIENCE BROADCAST ON RADIO AND TV. DELEGATION ACCUSED MAIDOU OF COMPLICITY IN APRIL KILLINGS, NOTING PARTICULARLY HIS DENIAL OF AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL ALLEGATIONS. DACKO REPEATED DEFENSE OF MAIDOU GIVEN IN SEPT 22 PRESS CONFERENCE (SEPTEL). DACKO SAID HE HIMSELF HAD BEEN HUMILIATED, PLAYED THE CLOWN AND SUFFERED IN SILENCE UNDER BOKASSA. SINCE JANUARY HE HAD WORKED CLOSELY WITH MAIDOU TO ARRANGE SUCCESSFUL COUP D'ETAT, AND HE VALUED MAIDOU'S ADVICE AND ABILITY. MAIDOU THEN DEFENDED HIMSELF SAYING HE HAD SOUGHT TO THWART BOKASSA WHEREVER POSSIBLE, HAD OFFERED HIS RESIGNATION, AND HAD BEEN THREATENED WITH DEATH. THESE STATEMENTS WERE APPLAUDED BY DELEGATES. TEACHERS ALSO CALLED FOR PUNISHMENT OF OTHERS ASSOCIATED WITH BOKASSA, FOR FREEDOM OF POLITICAL ACTION AND OF PRESS, AND FOR ELECTIONS WITHIN SIX MONTHS FOR A CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY TO DRAFT NEW CONSTITUTION. DACKO HANDLED HIMSELF WELL, AGREED TO UNDERTAKE ACTION ON LATTER DEMANDS AND PRAIFED STUDENT AND TEACHER LEADERSHIP IN OPPOSITION TO BOKASSA.

3. FORMER CAE AMB TO PARIS SYLVESTRE BANGUI ARRIVED SEPT 23 AND TOOK PART IN MEETING WITH TEACHERS UNION. HE WILL OBVIOUSLY WISH TO PLAY AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN EVENTUAL GOCAR AND THERE IS TALK OF HIS SEEKING DEFENSE, INTERIOR, OR INFORMATION MINISTRIES AND POSSIBLY ALL THREE. [redacted] E B-6

4. THERE HAVE BEEN NUMEROUS PUBLIC CALLS FOR BOKASSA'S EXTRADITION AND PUNISHMENT. DACKO HAS MADE NO COMMITMENT ON ATTEMPTS

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TO EXTRADITE BOKASSA AND SITUATION NOW COMPLICATED SINCE HIS WHEREABOUTS ARE UNCERTAIN. HOWEVER, DACKO HAS PROMISED LEGAL PROCEEDINGS AGAINST HIM SHOULD HE RETURN TO CAR.

5. COMMENT: MAIDOU MAY BE IN THE CLEAR AT LEAST FOR THE TIME BEING. THERE IS CERTAINLY AT LEAST SOME TRUTH IN DACKO'S STATEMENT OF MAIDOU'S ROLE IN THE COUP D'ETAT; MAIDOU IS ONE OF ABLEST CAR OFFICIALS; AND PERHAPS MOST IMPORTANT HE ENJOYS FRENCH ESTEEM AND SUPPORT. BUT AT LEAST SOME OF THOSE FORMERLY ASSOCIATED WITH BOKASSA WILL HAVE TO FACE LEGAL PROCEEDINGS; AND PUBLIC OPINION

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IS SUCH AS PROBABLY TO REQUIRE PUNISHMENT OF UTMOST SEVERITY. TRIAL OF SOME IS LIKELY TO IMPLICATE OTHERS. FRENCH EMBASSY REPORTS DACKO WILL NAME HIS GOVERNMENT THIS WEEK PROBABLY REDUCING MINISTERIAL POSITIONS TO PERHAPS A DOZEN. PROBLEM REMAINS TO FIND RESPONSIBLE EMPLOYMENT FOR FORMER GOVT AND IMPERIAL COURT MINISTERS ALL OF WHOM WILL SEEK HIGH LEVEL PORTFOLIOS AND MAY PRESENT SOME POLITICAL DANGER SHOULD THEIR REQUIREMENTS NOT BE SATISFIED. FINALLY, PUBLIC TRIAL OF BOKASSA INVOLVING REVELATIONS OF EARLIER ATROCITIES COULD EXCITE PUBLIC FERVOR TO A DANGEROUS DEGREE. (THERE HAVE ALREADY BEEN GRISLY REVELATIONS OF CORPSES FOUND IN FREEZER AT IMPERIAL RESIDENCE.) DACKO IS IN FULL CONTROL AND HANDLING THESE PROBLEMS CALMLY. HE WILL HAVE NO MAJOR DIFFICULTY WHILE FRENCH TROOPS REMAIN, WHICH LIKELY TO BE SEVERAL WEEKS OR MONTHS AT LEAST. BUT HE MUST FACE CRITICAL DECISIONS IN NEXT FEW DAYS WHICH WILL HAVE LONG RANGE EFFECT ON STABILITY OF HIS GOVERNMENT.COOKE

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1536
INFO AMEMBASSY BRAZZAVILLE
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE

C O N F I D E N T I A L BANGUI 0942

E.O.12065: GDS 4/12/85 (COOKE, GOODWIN) OR-M
TAGS: PINS, CT
SUBJ: STUDENT STRIKES IN BANGUI

1. C - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY. UNIVERSITY AND LYCEE STUDENTS STAYED HOME APRIL 9 FOLLOWING ARRESTS LAST WEEK OF SEVERAL STUDENTS AND TEACHERS ALLEGEDLY INVOLVED IN PRINTING AND DISTRIBUTING ANTI-BOKASSA TRACTS. SOME CIVIL SERVANTS AND OTHER WORKERS INITIALLY JOINED STUDENT STRIKERS. HOWEVER, THOUGH UNIVERSITY AND LYCEES ARE STILL CLOSED, SITUATION HAS APPARENTLY BEEN DIFFUSED BY PERSUASIVE, BALANCED INTERVENTION BY PRIMIN MAIDOU. END SUMMARY.

3. SINCE JANUARY DEMONSTRATIONS, TRACTS HAVE BEEN CIRCULATING THROUGHOUT BANGUI, CRITICIZING BOKASSA, CALLING FOR HIS RESIGNATION OR ASSASSINATION, AND URGING WALK-OUTS AND STRIKES. TRACTS ARE SIGNED BY SEVERAL GROUPS - POPULAR LIBERATION MOVEMENT, LIBERATION FRONT, ETC. EMBASSY HAS NO SOLID INFORMATION ON THESE GROUPS, BUT NATURE OF TRACTS INDICATES THEY ARE VERY SMALL AND UNSOPHISTICATED. [redacted] GROUPS ALREADY SQUABBLING AMONG THEMSELVES, AND PERHAPS INFORMING ON EACH OTHER. SEVERAL STUDENTS

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WERE ARRESTED LAST WEEK, AND MANUSCRIPTS AND PRINTING EQUIPMENT

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FOUND IN THEIR HOMES. PROTEST STRIKES HAVE CLOSED UNIVERSITY AND SCHOOLS, AND ONE POLICEMAN REPORTED BEATEN TO DEATH. AT LEAST SOME WORKERS WERE INTIMIDATED OR PERSUADED TO JOIN THE STRIKE.

4. PRIMIN MAIDOU SPOKE IN SANGHO TO TRADE UNION LEADERS ON RADIO APRIL 10. MAIDOU REPEATED MUCH OF SPEECH IN FRENCH TO SPECIAL CONVOCATION OF DIPLOMATIC CORPS APRIL 11. HE NOTED THAT JANUARY DEMONSTRATIONS HAD BEEN EXPRESSION OF ECONOMIC COMPLAINTS -- NON-PAYMENT OF SALARIES, SCHOLARSHIPS, ETC. -- WHICH GOCAE HAD MADE EVERY EFFORT TO CORRECT. RECENT POLITICAL PROTESTS, HOWEVER, WERE ENTIRELY ILLEGAL AND NOT BASED ON ECONOMIC INJUSTICE. PEACE AND ORDER WERE ESSENTIAL TO ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, AND GOCAE COULD NOT TOLERATE SUBVERSIVE POLITICAL ACTIVITY.

5. MAIDOU'S LOW-KEY, PERSUASIVE PRESENTATION HAS CALMED SITUATION, ALTHOUGH STUDENTS HAVE NOT RETURNED. POLICE AND MILITARY PRESENCE IN BANGUI IS LITTLE MORE THAN NORMAL. ONE INTERESTING POINT IS MAIDOU'S MENTION OF "OPEN SECRET" THAT A FORMER MINISTER HAS BEEN ARRESTED FOR INVOLVEMENT IN TRACTS AND OTHER ANTI-REGIME ACTIVITIES. THIS IS FORMER INFORMATION MINISTER YANGONGO, WHO HAS BEEN IN PRISON FOR ALMOST A MONTH. YANGONGO, WHO IS NO FRIEND OF THE U.S., IS OFTEN MENTIONED AS A POSSIBLE CANDIDATE TO SUCCEED BOKASSA.

6. MAIDOU, WHO WAS A POPULAR EDUCATION MINISTER, HAS KEPT THE LID ON FOR TIME BEING. HOWEVER, IT IS NOT MAIDOU WHO IS UNDER ATTACK. GENERAL ANTIPATHY TO BOKASSA PERSISTS, AND THOUGH OPPOSITION IS STILL UNORGANIZED, IT MAY BE GATHERING MOMENTUM.
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FM AMEMBASSY BANGUI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1580
INFO AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
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AMEMBASSY NDJAMENA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE

C O N F I D E N T I A L BANGUI 1020

E.O.12065: GDS 4/20/85 (COOKE, GOODWIN) OR-M
TAGS: PINS, SHUM, CT
SUBJ: BOKASSA SEEKS TO REDUCE TENSION IN BANGUI

REF: BANGUI 0942

1. (C) - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. DESPITE EFFORT BY PRIMIN MAIDOU REFTEL STUDENTS IN BANGUI HAVE REMAINED AWAY FROM CLASSES, AND ALL SCHOOLS, FROM NURSERY SCHOOLS THROUGH UNIVERSITY AND TEACHERS COLLEGE, HAVE STAYED CLOSED. ANTI-IMPERIAL ORACTS CONTINUE TO CIRCULATE, AND THERE HAVE BEEN SEVERAL CLASHES BETWEEN STUDENTS AND SECURITY FORCES. EARLIER THIS WEEK POLICE AND MILITARY MOVED INTO UNIVERSITY AND RESIDENTIAL AREAS, INTERROGATING AND ROUGHING UP LYCEE AND UNIVERSITY STUDENTS. SEVERAL HUNDRED STUDENTS HAVE BEEN REPORTED ARRESTED, ALTHOUGH MANY OR MOST WERE RELEASED AFTER BRIEF DETENTION.

3. BOKASSA ADDRESSED A LARGE MEETING APRIL 20 HELD UNDER AUSPICES
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OF MESAN, CAE'S ONLY POLITICAL PARTY, AND INCLUDING GOVERNMENT,

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IMPERIAL COURT, DIPLOMATIC CORPS AND OTHERS. CONTRARY TO SOME EXPECTATIONS, EMPEROR'S SPEECH WAS CONCILIATORY AND MODERATE. HE SAID STUDENTS HAD BEEN LARGELY DIRECTED BY "EXTERNAL" ELEMENTS AND CALLED UPON PARENTS TO PROVIDE CHILDREN WITH DIRECTION AND GUIDANCE. HE LISTED THE ACTIONS TAKEN BY GOVERNMENT TO REDRESS GRIEVANCES: SALARY PAYMENTS, MINIMUM WAGE RAISES, RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF TRADE UNION ACTIVITIES, ETC. HE CALLED ON DIPLOMATS WHO PROVIDED TEACHERS AND TECHNICIANS TO ASK THEM TO PROVIDE APPROPRIATE ADVICE TO CAE YOUTH. AND HE ANNOUNCED THAT ALL ARRESTED STUDENTS WOULD BE RELEASED -- ALTHOUGH ADULTS INVOLVED WOULD BE PROSECUTED. FINALLY, BOKASSA NOTED THAT CONSTITUTION WAS BEING IMPLMENETED, AND THAT HE STILL WISHED TO HOLD ELECTIONS BY DECEMBER 1, 1979, "ALTHOUGH THE PRESENT SOCIAL CLIMATE DOES NOT LEND ITSELF TO PREPARATION FOR THIS HISTORICAL EVENT".

4. BOKASSA'S SPEECH WAS FOLLOWED BY FORMER PRIMIN MADAME DOMITIENNE, A STILL POPULAR PERSON WHO SPOKE, IN SANGO, OF THE NEED FOR PARENTS TO PROVIDE GUIDANCE FOR CHILDREN. TWO MESAN MEMBERS SPOKE FROM THE FLOOR, CRITICIZING POLICE INDISCIPLINE AND BRUTALITY, TO WHICH BOKASSA REPLIED IN LOW-KEY, SYMPATHETIC FASHION. IMPRESSION, OBVIOUSLY INTENTIONAL BUT NONETHELESS EFFECTIVE, WAS OF OPEN AND REASONABLE DIALOGUE, AND CLEMENCY TOWARD ARRESTED STUDENTS WAS RECEIVED WITH CHEERS.

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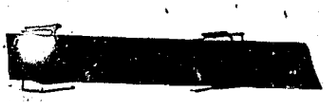

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AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE

C O N F I D E N T I A L BANGUI 1057

E.O.12065: GDS 4/25/85 (FAIRCHILD, ALBERT E.) OR-M
TAGS: PINS, PINT, SHUM, CT
SUBJ: REPORTS OF STUDENT KILLINGS IN BANGUI

REF: BANGUI 1020

1. (C) - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY. FOLLOWING BOKASSA'S PRESENTATION DESCRIBED REFTEL, STUDENTS WERE RELEASED FROM THE SEVERAL PLACES OF DETENTION WHERE THEY WERE HELD. REPORTS IMMEDIATELY BEGAN CIRCULATING OF KILLINGS OF STUDENTS IN DOWNTOWN NGARAGBA PRISON. MANY STUDENTS HAVE FLED TO HOME VILLAGES, AND OTHERS ARE REPORTED IN ZAIRE. AS OF APRIL 26, SCHOOLS AND UNIVERSITY ARE OPEN, AND SOME STUDENTS HAVE RETURNED TO CLASSES. THE SCHOOL STRIKE AT LEAST TEMPORARILY IS OVER, BUT BITTERNESS AND RESENTMENT REMAIN. END SUMMARY.

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3. ACCORDING TO VARIOUS SOURCES [redacted] SOME STUDENTS WERE BEATEN TO DEATH AT NGARAGBA BY SOLDIERS/POLICE ON APRIL 18 AND 19, FOLLOWING WHICH BODIES REMOVED FROM PRISON TO VARIOUS
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COMMUNAL GRAVES. REPORTS OF NUMBERS KILLED VARY FROM 20 TO MORE

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THAN 100. EMBASSY HAS NO RPT NO CONFIRMATION OF THESE EVENTS, NOR OF NUMBERS INVOLVED, BUT FACT REMAINS THAT MANY STUDENTS WHO HAD BEEN DETAINED BY AUTHORITIES HAVE NOT APPEARED FOLLOWING GENERAL RELEASE ON APRIL 20 AND 21. EMBOFF SAW PERHAPS 150 ADULTS, OBVIOUSLY IN DEEP MOURNING, OUTSIDE PRISON APRIL 21. VARIOUS TEACHERS AND STUDENTS IN LOCAL EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS HAVE MENTIONED REPORTS FROM RELATIVES WHICH TEND TO CONFIRM THESE ACCOUNTS. STUDENTS IN QUESTION APPARENTLY RANGED IN AGE FROM 15 TO 22 YEARS, AND INCLUDED THOSE ACTIVELY INVOLVED IN RECENT PROTESTS AS WELL AS SOME WHO TOOK NO PART AT ALL.

4. MANY STUDENTS, INCLUDING SOME DEPENDENTS OF EMBASSY FSN EMPLOYEES, HAVE FLED UPCOUNTRY AND SOME, REPORTEDLY, ACROSS THE RIVER TO ZAIRE. HOWEVER, AS OF APRIL 26, SCHOOLS ARE OPEN AND NUMBERS OF STUDENTS HAVE RETURNED TO CLASSES. MILITARY AND POLICE PRESENCE AT UNIVERSITY AND LYCEES HAS BEEN GREATLY DIMINISHED. BANGUI IS CALM, AND GOCAE CONTINUING BUSINESS-AS-USUAL ATTITUDE, ALTHOUGH MOOD IN AFRICAN RESIDENTAL AREAS IS DESCRIBED AS SULLEN AND RESENTFUL.

5. COMMENT: REPORTS OF KILLINGS CONTRAST MARKEDLY WITH RECENT REASONED PUBLIC PRONOUNCEMENTS BY EMPEROR. IT IS WORTH NOTING THAT EMPEROR'S CALM PUBLIC ADDRESSES HAVE ALL BEEN DELIVERED IN FRENCH. RECENT RADIO SPEECH IN SANGHO, HOWEVER, WARNED OPPOSITION THAT ATTEMPTS TO BRING DOWN EMPEROR WOULD BE RESISTED FEROCIOUSLY AND THAT "IF I GO IT WILL ONLY BE UPON THE CORPSES OF THOSE WHO DEFY ME". IT APPEARS AT PRESENT THAT BOKASSA HAS ISOLATED THE STUDENT PROTESTERS BY IMPROVING THE ECONOMIC STATUS OF WORKERS AND CIVIL SERVANTS, AND SUPPRESSED IT BY BRUTALITY AND INTIMIDATION. BUT POPULAR ALIENATION FROM REGIME WILL SURELY GROW AS NEWS OF LAST WEEK'S EVENTS SPREADS, AND THERE IS GOOD LIKELIHOOD THAT INTERNATIONAL PRESS WILL PICK UP

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RUMORS NOW CURRENT IN BANGUI.
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FM AMEMBASSY BANGUI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1711
INFO AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L BANGUI 1237

E.O.12065: GDS 5/16/85 (COOKE, GOODWIN) OR-M
TAGS: PINS, SHUM, CT
SUBJ: AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL REPORT ON STUDENT DEATHS IN BANGUI

REF: BANGUI 1057, STATE 122925

1. (C) - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL REPORT COINCIDES CLOSELY WITH INFORMATION AVAILABLE TO THIS AND OTHER EMBASSIES IN BANGUI. IT WORTH NOTHING THAT MOTIVATION FOR ATROCITIES WAS NOT SCHOOL UNIFORMS, AN ISSUE NOW PRACTICALLY FORGOTTEN, BUT TRACTS AND MANIFESTOS PUT OUT BY AGGRIEVED STUDENTS, BEATING OF SEVERAL POLICEMEN, AND STONES REPORTEDLY THROWN AT EMPEROR'S CORTEGE. THERE ARE RUMORS, AGAIN UNCONFIRMED, THAT BOKASSA WAS PERSONALLY PRESENT AND INVOLVED IN NGARAGBA KILLINGS.

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4. AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL REPORT CARRIED ON MANY INTERNATIONAL RADIO NETS, INCLUDING FRANCE INTERNE, BUT THERE HAS BEEN NO CAE-COMMENT OR REACTION. BANGUI IS CALM AND SCHOOLS OPEN, THOUGH ATTENDANCE STILL SPARSE.

5. DIP CORPS HAS BEEN CONVOKED FOR PARADE AND DINNER MAY 19 HONORING 40TH ANNIVERSARY OF BOKASSA'S ENTRY IN MILITARY SERVICE. B1 1.3&33

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6. WOULD BE MOST INTERESTED IN ANY NEWS FROM PARIS ON GOF ATTI-TUDES.
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C O N F I D E N T I A L PARIS 16021

E.O. 12065: GDS 5/18/85 (JOHNSTONE, L. CRAIG) OR-P
TAGS: SHUM, CT, FR
SUBJECT: FRENCH HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY AND REACTION TO STUDENT DEATHS IN BANGUI

REF: BANGUI 1237

1. (C) AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL REPORT ON ATROCITIES IN BANGUI HAS PUT GOF IN SOMEWHAT UNCOMFORTABLE POSITION GIVEN PRESIDENT GISCARD'S REPORTED FRIENDSHIP WITH EMPEROR BOKASSA. COMMUNIST DAILY L'HUMANITE FEATURED FRONT PAGE STORY MAY 16 ENTITLED "MON AMI BOKASSA" FEATURING A LARGE PHOTOGRAPH OF BOKASSA AND PRESIDENT GISCARD SMILING AND SHAKING HANDS WITH SMALL SCHOOL CHILDREN. ARTICLE STRESSED LONG STANDING SUPPORT FOR THE CAE REGIME BY GISCARD CLAIMING THAT WITHOUT FRENCH SUPPORT BOKASSA COULD NOT HAVE MAINTAINED HIMSELF IN POWER. BOKASSA IS QUOTED SAYING THAT "GISCARD IS A PARENT TO ME." L'HUMANITE WENT ON TO POINT OUT THAT THE GOF HAS NOT ISSUED "EVEN ONE WORD OF INDIGNATION OVER THE ATROCITIES IN BANGUI." SOCIALIST PARTY ALSO ISSUED STATEMENT MAY 16 CRITICAL OF GOF SILENCE.

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2 (U) ON MAY 17 FOREIGN MINISTER FRANCOIS-PONCET

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ISSUED A GUARDED STATEMENT ON THE AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL STORY AND AN EXPLANATION OF GOF HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY. IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION IN THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY FRANCOIS-PONCET SAID "THESE FACTS, IF THEY ARE PROVEN TRUE, CAN ONLY BE MET WITH INDIGNATION, NOT ONLY IN FRANCE BUT IN AFRICA ITSELF." HE ADDED THAT "AT PRESENT WE HAVE ONLY CONTRADICTORY ACCOUNTS. AS SOON AS LIGHT IS SHED ON THE FACTS, FRANCE, WHILE RESPECTING THE SOVEREIGNTY OF ALL COUNTRIES, WILL USE THE INFLUENCE AVAILABLE TO IT WITH EFFICIENCY AND DISCRETION TO BRING ABOUT RESPECT FOR THE RIGHTS OF MAN."

3. (U) FRANCOIS-PONCET WENT ON TO ADD THAT FRANCE OPERATES ON THE PRINCIPLE OF BENEFITTING THE PEOPLE THEMSELVES IN THEIR DEVELOPMENT AND THAT THIS IS THE BEST WAY TO INSURE HUMAN RIGHTS. HE SAID THAT "DEFENSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND HUMAN DIGNITY HAS BEEN, FOR FRANCE, SINCE 1789, PERMANENT AND UNIVERSAL." "THE DUTY OF FRANCE IS NOT TO DISTRIBUTE BLAME IN ORDER TO BOOST ITS OWN CONSCIENCE. IT IS TO HELP THOSE STATES WHO ARE FRANCE'S PARTNERS TO REACH A LEVEL OF DEVELOPMENT WHICH, IN ELIMINATING MISERY AND INJUSTICE, WILL MAKE IT POSSIBLE TO INSURE THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE INDIVIDUAL THROUGH THE EXERCISE OF HIS FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS."

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AF:LWALKER
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INFO AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 134416

E.O. 12065 GDS 5/25/85

TAGS: PINS, EAID, CT

SUBJECT: POLICY REVIEW: CENTRAL AFRICAN EMPIRE

1. IN LIGHT OF RECENT DEVELOPMENTS PERTAINING TO APRIL KILLINGS IN BANGUI, INCLUDING EMPEROR'S OWN PUBLIC ADMISSIONS ON SUBJECT, IT HAS BEEN DECIDED TO UNDERTAKE MAJOR REVIEW OF U.S. POLICY VIS-A-VIS CAE.

2. YOU ARE THEREFORE REQUESTED TO RETURN TO WASHINGTON TO PARTICIPATE IN POLICY REVIEW DURING EARLY PART OF WEEK BEGINNING MAY 28.

3. WE INTEND MAKE PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT OF YOUR RECALL FOR CONSULTATIONS IMMEDIATELY UPON RECEIPT OF MISSION TELEGRAM
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INFORMING US YOU HAVE DEPARTED POST.

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FM AMEMBASSY BANGUI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1778
INFO AMEMBASSY BRAZZAVILLE PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY KIGALI PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY NDJAMENA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L BANGUI 1355

E.O.12065: GDS 5/31/85 (FAIRCHILD, ALBERT E.) OR-M
TAGS: PINT, PGOV, CT
SUBJ: FRENCH JOURNALISTS IN BANGUI

REF: PARIS 17044, STATE 136468, KIGALI 1198

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT.)

2. SUMMARY: FRENCH JOURNALISTS [redacted] MAKING ROUNDS UNHINDERED IN BANGUI SINCE MAY 22. ALL SHOULD HAVE DEPARTED BY JUNE 1, AFTER HAVING SEEN AND SPOKEN WITH GOCAE OFFICIALS, SCHOOL AND UNIVERSITY AUTHORITIES, STUDENTS AT ALL LEVELS, FOREIGN DIPLOMATS AND EXPATRIATE RESIDENTS, AS WELL AS MAN ON THE STREET. THEY APPEAR TO HAVE SOME FACTS AND MANY STORIES WHICH WILL TEND TO VERIFY AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL ACCUSATIONS. END SUMMARY.

3. CHARGE SPOKE WITH THREE FRENCH JOURNALISTS AT THEIR REQUEST
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MAY 27 AND 30, AND REQUESTED NO RPT NO DIRECT ATTRIBUTION OF

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COMMENTS TO US EMBASSY. THEIR QUESTIONS FOCUSSED ON (A) AI ACCUSATIONS; (B) INFORMATION ON EVENTS KNOWN TO EMBASSY; (C) INVOLVEMENT IN VARIOUS CAE BUSINESS VENTURES BY GISCARD, HIS FAMILY MEMBERS AND CLOSE FRIENDS
; (D) US:CAE RELATIONS IN GENERAL
TO DATE AND PARTICULARLY IN RESPONSE TO AI CHARGES, AND (E) SPECULATION RE POLITICAL FUTURE OF CAE. CHARGE RESPONDED BY: (A) NOTING US CONCERN OVER AI ACCUSATIONS, ESPECIALLY IN VIEW KIGALI PRESS CONFERENCE STATEMENTS BY EMPEROR; (B) STATING THAT EMBASSY HAD NO RPT NO DIRECT, FIRST-HAND CONFIRMATION OF STORIES, ALTHOUGH AWARE OF MANY SECOND AND THIRD-HAND ACCOUNTS; (C) DENYING KNOWLEDGE OF GISCARD'S OR RELATIVES' OR FRIENDS' BUSINESS ACTIVITIES HERE; (D) REVIEWING PAST AND RECENT US LEG-* ISLATIVE ACTIVITIES RE BILATERAL ASSISTANCE AND NOTING AMBASSADOR COOKE'S RETURN FOR CONSULTATIONS, AND (E) DECLINING SPECULATION ON FUTURE.

4. ONE JOURNALIST [redacted] CLAIMED TO HAVE INTERVIEWED WOUNDED ELEVEN YEAR OLD BOY, WHO RECOUNTED HIS ESCAPE FROM GRISLY NIGHT EXENUTION SCENE AT KASSAI CAMP FOLLOWING VISIT TO NGARAGBA PRISON BY EMPEROR. ACCORDING TO BOY'S STORY EMPEROR BEAT DETAINEES WITH CANE, GLOATED OVER THEIR IMPOTENCE AND INABILITY OVERTHROW HIM, AND ARBITRARILY DESIGNATED THOSE TO BE REMOVED TO KASSAI FOR EXECUTION. [redacted] INCLUDE THIS EPISODE IN HIS STORY, WHICH HE WILL FILE UPON RETURN TO FRANCE.

5. [redacted] JOURNALISTS AND FILM CREW WERE CONVOKED MAY 25 BY PRIMIN MAIDOU, WHO WELCOMED THEM TO CAE, AUTHORIZED THEM TO SEE WHOMEVER AND GO WHEREVER THEY WISHED, REPEATED GOCAE DENIALS OF AI CHARGES AND NOTED THAT DELEGATION OF IMPARTIAL JURISTS WOULD SOON ARRIVE TO CONDUCT INQUIRIES. JOURNALISTS ALSO EXPRESSED
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BELIEF TO CHARGE THAT THEY WERE NOT RPT NOT FOLLOWED DURING BANGUI VISITS, BUT NOTED PRESENCE OF OBVIOUS "OBSERVERS" AT KEY LOCATIONS (HOTEL, UNIVERSITY, LYCEES, MINISTRY BUILDINGS). THEY ALSO APPEARED SURPRISED AT CURRENT CALM ASPECT OF CITY, OUTSPOKEN ANTAGONISM TOWARD PERSON OF EMPEROR BY CIVIL SERVANTS INTERVIEWED, AND THEIR OWN FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT GIVEN PAST EXPERIENNES OF JOURNALISTS VISITING BANGUI. [redacted]

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[redacted] 86

6. THESE JOURNALISTS OBVIOUSLY CAME TO BANGUI SEEKING VERIFICATION TO SOME DEGREE OF AI CHARGES. ALL WILL DEPART BELIEVING THEY HAVE SUCH EVIDENCE.
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FM AMEMBASSY BANGUI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1779
INFO AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L BANGUI 1356

E.O.12065: GDS 5/31/85 (FAIRCHILD, ALBERT E.) OR-M
TAGS: PINS, PINT, CT, US
SUBJ: ANTI-BOKASSA TRACT PRAISES U.S. POLICY - BUT INCORRECTLY

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT.)

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1.3a9

2. ON MAY 30 [redacted] GAVE CHARGE COPY OF MOST RECENT TRACT CIRCULATING IN BANGUI. MAIN SUBJECTS OF TRACT, WHICH IS UNSIGNED AND UNDATED, ARE DENUNCIATION OF REGIME FOR KILLINGS AND CALL FOR GENERAL STRIKE FOR TEN-DAY PERIOD BEGINNING JUNE 9. TRACT ALSO HEAPS VITRIOL ON PRIMIN MAIDOU AND BANGUI MAYOR FRED ZEMONIAKO-LIBLAKENZE.

3. ONE PARAGRAPH OF TRACT ADDRESSES U.S. POLICY IN FOLLOWING TERMS:

QTE. IN RESPONSE TO THESE ARBITRARY ARRESTS AND MASSACRES, THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA HAS JUST SETTLED IT: NO MORE ECONOMIC AID TO THE REGIME WHICH VIOLATES HUMAN RIGHTS. THE USA IS ALSO ASKING OTHER WESTERN COUNTRIES, INCLUDING FRANCE, TO CUT OFF AID AND CEASE DEBT CANCELLATIONS FOR BOKASSA'S DANGEROUS REGIME WHICH, BY CONTINUED EXISTENCE MAKES ITS PEOPLE SUFFER. UNQTE.

4. COMMENT: NO RPT NO SOURCE IS KNOWN FOR THIS TRACT, ALTHOUGH IT
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PAGE 02 BANGUI 01356 3113572

HAS APPARENTLY BEEN IN CIRCULATION FOR ABOUT ONE WEEK. EMBASSY

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[redacted]

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ASSUMES IT HAS ALREADY COME TO GOCAE ATTENTION, ALTHOUGH SUBJECT HAS NOT RPT NOT BEEN RAISED WITH EMBASSY.
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PAGE 01 KINSHA 06586 220104Z
ACTION AF-10

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INFO AMEMBASSY BANGUI
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C O N F I D E N T I A L KINSHASA 6586

E.O. 12065: GDS: 6/19/85 (REMOLE, ROBERT) OR-P
TAGS: CG, CT, PEPR, SOPN, SHUM
SUBJECT: ZAIRIAN PRESS REPORTS ON ALLEGED CAE MASSACRE

1. ENTIRE TEXT CONFIDENTIAL

2. SUMMARY: TWO GOCAE ATTEMPTS TO PRESSURE THE ZAIRIAN PRESS TO REPORT ONLY EMPEROR BOKASSA'S DENIALS OF THE BANGUI MASSACRE HAVE APPARENTLY BACKFIRED. KINSHASA DAILY "ELIMA" RESPONDED FIRST BY PRINTING BOTH SIDES OF THE STORY AND LATER BY CHASTISING THE CAE EMBASSY FOR CONTINUED EFFORTS TO HAVE ONLY THE OFFICIAL VIEWPOINT PUBLISHED. [redacted] END SUMMARY.

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3a5

3. THE ALLEGED MASSACRE OF STUDENTS IN BANGUI HAS RESULTED IN A SMALL-SCALE SKIRMISH BETWEEN THE ZAIRIAN DAILY "ELIMA" AND THE CAE EMBASSY IN KINSHASA. AN ARTICLE IN THE MAY 30 ISSUE REPORTED RECEIPT OF A COMMUNIQUE FROM THE CAE EMBASSY VEHEMENTLY DENYING THE ALLEGATIONS OF AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL. ACCORDING TO ELIMA, THE CAE ACCUSED AMNESTY INTERNATITNAL OF SPREADING BASELESS LIES TO TARNISH THE REPUTATION OF

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THE CAE. IN ADDITION, THE CAE EMBASSY MAINTAINED THAT ALL

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OF THE DETAINED STUDENTS HAD BEEN SET FREE. NEXT TO THE ARTICLE WERE TWO PHOTOGRAPHS: ONE OF THE CAE AMBASSADOR TO FRANCE CONFIRMING THE MASSACRE REPORTS AND ANNOUNCING HIS RESIGNATION; THE OTHER OF THE AMBASSADOR'S SON PREDICTING THAT THE KILLINGS MARKED THE BEGINNING OF THE END FOR HIS F.

4. NOT CONTENT TO LET THE MATTER REST THERE, THE CAE AMBASSADOR TO ZAIRE, JACQUES TOPANDE-MAKOMBO, SENT AN OFFICIAL LETTER OF PROTEST TO ELIMA CONDEMNING THE PHOTOGRAPHS AND "SLANDEROUS" COMMENTS. THIS WAS PUBLISHED ON PAGE ONE OF THE JUNE 3 ISSUE DIRECTLY FOLLOWED BY ELIMA'S SNIPPY REPLY. EMLIMA'S ARGUMENT, ATTRIBUTED TO EDITOR IN CHIEF ESSOLOMWA NKOY EA LINGANGA, WAS THAT IT'S ORIGINAL POLICY HAD BEEN TO PUBLISH NEITHER THE AI STROY NOR THE GOCAE DENIAL. HOWEVER, WHEN PRESSURED BY A CAE EMBASSY REPRESENTATIVE TO PRINT THE DENIAL, ELIMA FELT A RESPONSIBILITY BETTER TO INFORM THE ZAIRIAN READER BY INCLUDING REFERENCES TO THE ORIGIANL ACCUSATIONS. THE EDITOR CONCLUDES BY NOTING TTAT ALL FUTURE GOCAE DENIALS WILL BE PRINTED-- AS PAID ADVERTISEMENTS.

5. COMMENT: GIVEN THE CLOSE TRIBAL TIES AND THE NORMALLY FRIENDLY RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MOBUTU AND BOKASSA, ELIMA'S HANDLING OF THE ISSUE IS NOTEWORTHY. [redacted]

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INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ADS-00 HA-05 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 ABIDJAN 7854

E.O. 12065: GDS 8/17/85 (FRIEDMAN, GERALD A.) OR-M
TAGS: SHUM, CT
SUBJECT: FIVE NATION JURISTS COMMISSION REPORT ON CAE

REF: STATE 214657

B1 1.3a9

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PAGE 02 ABIDJA 07854 01 OF 02 1718532

END SUMMARY

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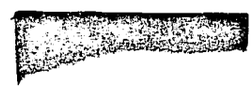

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2. (U) ABIDJAN DAILY NEWSPAPER FRATERNITE MATIN AUGUST 17 PUBLISHED STORY ON DAKAR PRESS CONFERENCE OF SENEGALESE JURIST COMMISSION MEMBER YOUSSOUF N'DIAYE (REFTEL) AND PRINTED WHAT WAS LABELED AS FULL TEXT OF COMMISSION'S CONCLUSIONS. FRATERNITE MATIN STORY HIGHLIGHTS REPORTED COMMISSION FINDINGS THAT: IN JANUARY 1979, CAE SECURITY FORCES HARSHLY REPRESSED RIOTS; IN APRIL 1979, SOME 100 CHILDREN WERE MASSACRED UNDER THE ORDERS OF BOKASSA AND WITH HIS "QUASI-CERTAIN" PARTICIPATION. N'DIAYE REPORTEDLY REVEALED WITNESSES' TESTIMONY THAT BOKASSA HAD USED HIS CANE, THE END OF WHICH WAS SHAPED LIKE A JAVELIN, TO PUNCTURE ONE STUDENT'S EYE AND HAD SLAUGHTERED 39 PERSONS. IN RESPONSE TO QUESTIONS, N'DIAYE REPORTEDLY SAID IT WAS CERTAIN THAT THE ZAIRIAN MILITARY HAD TAKEN PART IN THE EVENTS. (STORY DID NOT MAKE CLEAR WHETHER ZAIRIAN INVOLVEMENT WAS IN JANUARY EVENTS, APRIL EVENTS, OR BOTH.)

[redacted] B1 1.3(a)(3)

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[redacted] B1 1.3(a)(9)

5. (U) INFORMAL TRANSLATION OF TEXT OF REPORT'S CON-

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CLUSIONS, AS REPORTED IN FRATERNITE MATIN, FOLLOWS:
QUOTE: THE COMPLETE TEXT OF CONCLUSIONS:

THE EVENTS WHICH HAPPENED IN BANGUI IN 1979, TOOK PLACE IN THREE DISTINCTIVE STAGES:

(1) IN JANUARY 1979 THE PUPILS WHO HAD BEEN EXPELLED FROM SCHOOL FOR NOT WEARING THE COMPULSORY UNIFORM PEACEFULLY DEMONSTRATED IN THE STREETS. SOON, OTHER STUDENTS JOINED THEM AND ALL THE DEMONSTRATORS ASKED FOR PAYMENT OF THEIR SCHOLARSHIPS. THE PARENTS, WHO HAD NOT BEEN PAID THEIR SALARIES FOR MONTHS, MAKE COMMON CAUSE WITH THE STUDENTS.

THE PEACEFUL DEMONSTRATION OF JANUARY 17 AND 18 GRADUALLYTURNSINTO A GENUINE RIOT ON JANUARY 19 AND 20 FOLLOWING THE BRUTAL INTERVENTION OF THE POLICE. THE EMPEROR, WHO ADMITTED IN FRONT OF US THAT THE "COUNTRY WAS ON FIRE" ALSO QUALIFIED THE EVENTS AS A "REAL WAR."
THE TOLL OF THESE RIOTS IS HEAVY: 13 DEAD AND 60 WOUNDED ON BOTH SIDES ACCORDING TO THE OFFICIAL VERSION, AND 150 TO 500 DEAD PLUS 70 SERIOUSLY WOUNDED ACCORDING TO OTHER SOURCES OF INFORMATION.
"THE INVESTIGATION COMMISSION ESTIMATES THAT AT
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LEAST 150 PERSONS OF ALL AGES WERE KILLED DURING THE JANUARY RIOTS.
"THE REPRESSION WHICH WAS SEVERE, WAS MARKED BY THREE PARTICULARLY ATROCIOUS SCENES:
A. THE ARMY'S CHIEF OF STAFF, IN SPITE OF KNOWING AN 8 YEAR OLD CHILD, SHOT HIM AND WENT TO TELL HIS PARENTS.
B. A 13 YEAR OLD GIRL WAS KILLED BY A BULLET IN THE BACK AT HER OWN HOUSE AND IN FRONT OF HER FATHER.
C. DURING THE RIOT, SOME SOLDIERS SHOT AT MEMBERS OF THE RED CROSS WHO WERE WEARING THEIR BADGES.
(2) THE SECOND STAGE, WHICH COVERS THE PERIOD FROM JANUARY TO APRIL 1979 AND WHICH CAN BE CALLED THE

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AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 ABIDJAN 7854

"INTERMEDIATE STAGE" WAS CHARACTERIZED BY A TENSE SITUATION ESPECIALLY IN SCHOOLS WHERE STUDENT STRIKES WENT ON, AS WELL AS THE PUBLISHING OF TRACTS DENOUNCING THE EMPEROR'S ABSOLUTE POWER AND CALLING FOR HIS ABDICATION.
THE POLITICAL AUTHORITIES ARE THEN CONVINCED, WITH REASON, THAT THE MOVEMENT IS BECOMING MORE AND MORE POLITICAL -- SINCE ALL CLAIMS HAVE BEEN MET.
"THE MEETINGS THEN MOVED FROM THE UNIVERSITY TO *TO RESIDENTIAL DISTRICTS AND THE CHURCHES. POLICEMEN* INFILTRATING THE MEETINGS ARE EXPOSED AND MISTREATED. A SOLDIER IS UNDRESSED IN THE STREET. SPEAKERS CALL FOR THE RESIGNATION OF THE EMPEROR WHOSE AUTOMOBILE SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN STONED. ON APRIL 17, OFFICIALS' VEHICLES AND HOMES ARE ATTACKED AND VANDALIZED. BARRICADES ARE INSTALLED. THEN BEGIN MONSTROUS ARRESTS OF APRIL 17, 18, AND 19 WHICH MARKS THE THIRD STAGE.
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(3) BANGUI AUTHORITIES COMPLETELY FINESSE APRIL'S EVENTS BY FORMALLY DENYING THEM OR GIVING CONFLICTING

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EXPLANATIONS.
IT IS, HOWEVER, CLEARLY ESTABLISHED THAT YOUNG CHILDREN WERE ARRESTED IN BUSES OR IN THEIR HOUSES, WHILE THEIR PARENTS WERE AT WORK.
TRANSPORTED TO ARMY AND GENDARMERIE BARRACKS AND *TO THE NGARAGBA PRISON, THEY WERE SHOT, BEATEN, MUTILATED, TORTURED AND PILED UP IN NARROW CELLS WHERE SOME OF THEM* DIED OF SUFFOCATION.

THE NGARABGA PRISON'S REGISTER MENTIONS 52 ARRESTS, AMONG WHICH THERE WERE CHILDREN BETWEEN 12 AND 15 YEARS OLD AS WELL AS "VAGABONDS." NONE OF THEM WERE REGISTERED. "HOWEVER, THE INVESTIGATION COMMISSION HAS REACHED THE CONCLUSION THAT AROUND 250 PERSONS OF WHICH A MAJORITY WERE CHILDREN, WERE ARRESTED AND HELD IN NGARAGBA PRISON. THE COMMISSION CAN ALSO CONCLUDE THAT THERE WERE BETWEEN 50 AND 200 DEAD IN NGARAGBA PRISON, THE NUMBER 100 SEEMING TO IT TO BE THE MOST REALISTIC FIGURE. MUCH TESTIMONY-- PRECISE, OBJECTIVE, AND CONCORDANT --ALLOWS THE COMMISSION TO AFFIRM THAT THE SLAUGHTERED CHILDREN WERE QUICKLY BURIED IN COMMON GRAVES SPREAD OUT OVER SEVERAL LOCATIONS OR SIMPLY THROWN INTO THE RIVER.
THIS SAME TESTIMONY REVEALS THE EMPEROR'S PRESENCE THREE TIMES AT NGARAGBA PRISON, AS WELL AS HIS PARTICIPATION IN THE MASSACRES WHICH ARE SAID TO HAVE CONTINUED EVEN AT BERENGO (THE IMPERIAL COURT) AT HIS DIRECTION.
IN CONCLUSION, THE INVESTIGATION COMMISSION JUDGES THAT THE JANUARY 1979 BANGUI RIOTS WERE ATROCIOUSLY SUPPRESSED BY THE POLICE AND THAT IN APRIL 1979, THE
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MASSACRE OF ABOUT 100 CHILDREN WAS PERPETRATED UNDER EMPEROR BOKASSA'S ORDER AND WITH HIS ALMOST-CERTAIN PERSONAL PARTICIPATION.

THESE CONCLUSIONS ARE SIGNED BY THE FIVE JUDGES OF THE COMMISSION: MR. YOUSSOU N'DIAYE (SENEGAL), TIA KONE (IVORY COAST), FULGENCE SEMINEGA (RWANDA), ATSU-KOFFI AMEGA (TOGO) AND ANGIE BROOKS RANDOLPH (LIBERIA).
END QUOTE.
FRIEDMAN

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ORIGIN AF-10

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 216304

E.O. 12065, GDS 8/17/85 (JUNIOR, L. D.)

TAGS: SHUM, CT

SUBJECT: FIVE NATION JURISTS REPORT ON CAE

REF: A) DAKAR 6187, B) ABIDJAN 7854

1. PARA 7, REF A, WAS RECEIVED IN DEPARTMENT AS FOLLOWS:
"INVOLVEMENT OF ZAIRIAN ARMY, ASKED BY JOURNALISTS ABOUT
THE INVOLVEMENT OF THE ZARIAN ARMY, MR. NDIAYE AFFIRMED
THAT THE PARTICIPATION OF THE ZAIRIAN ARMY IN THESE EVENTS
WAS VERIFIED AND PROVED BY NUMEROUS SOLDIERS KILLED OR
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ARRESTED AND IDENTIFIED AS SUCH, ACCORDING THE NUMEROUS

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TESTIMONIES."

2. WOULD APPEAR FROM FOREGOING TEXT THAT LINE, PHRASE OR AT LEAST SOME WORDS MAY HAVE BEEN OMITTED. PLEASE ADVISE.

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FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8354
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
AMEMBASSY BANGUI
AMEMBASSY DAKAR
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSY LOME
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
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C O N F I D E N T I A L KIGALI 01896

E.O. 12065: GDS 8/21/85 (GRILBIN, ROBERT E.) OR-M
TAGS: SHUM, CT, RW
SUBJECT: FIVE NATION JURIST REPORT ON CAE

REF: (A) STATE 214657; (B) KIGALI 1805

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT).

2. RWANDA PRESS PUBLISHED REUTERS REPORT OF NDIAYE NEWS CONFERENCE 18 AUGUST. THERE HAS BEEN NO COMMENTARY. OTHER ITEMS DURING PAST MONTH HAVE, HOWEVER, NOTED THE TRAVEL OF PERSONS ASSOCIATED WITH THE COMMISSION, I.E., THE RETURN OF FULGENCE SEMINEGA, RWANDA COMMISSION MEMBER, VISIT OF MINISTER OF JUSTICE, CHARLES NKURUNZIZA, TO BANGUI AUGUST 3, AND CAE REPRESENTATIVE KOYAMBA WHO CALLED ON PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA IN KIGALI AUGUST 7. SENEGALESE SEC
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OF STATE MOHAMMED LY ALSO VISITED KIGALI AUGUST 18 FOR

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TALKS WITH PRESIDENT.

3. JURIST REPORT CONTINUES TO BE VERY TIGHTLY HELD BY GOR. AS A COPY HAS APPARENTLY BEEN OBTAINED IN DAKAR, WE DO NOT PLAN TO ASK FOR IT HERE. WE WILL, HOWEVER, SEEK AN OCCASION TO DISCUSS THE COMMISSION'S FINDINGS WITH MR. SEMINEGA.

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FM AMEMBASSY BANGUI
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INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
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AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSY LOME
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
AMEMBASSY PARIS

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C O N F I D E N T I A L BANGUI 2117

E.O.12065: GDS 8/21/85 (COOKE, GOODWIN) OR-M
TAGS: PINS, SHUM, CT
SUBJ: CAE REACTION TO REPORT ON KILLINGS IN BANGUI

REF: BANGUI 2095 (NOTAL)

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT).

2. IN FIRST OFFICIAL CAE REACTION TO FIVE-NATION REPORT ON APRIL MASSACRES, ACTING FONMIN LAVODRAMA CONVOKED DIPLOMATIC CORPS FOR VERY BRIEF MEETING AUGUST 20. LAVODRAMA NOTED FRENCH AID CUT AND PRESS REPORTS THAT FRANCE WAS PLANNING MILITARY INTERVENTION IN CAE. HE GAVE CATEGORICAL ASSURANCES NO RETALIATION PLANNED BY GOCAE AGAINST EXPATRIATE COMMUNITY, PARTICULARLY FRENCH.

3. LAVODRAMA THEN DISTRIBUTED DOCUMENT ENTITLED 'REMARKS ON THE REPORT OF THE COMMISSION OF INQUIRY ON THE EVENTS IN BANGUI". THIS IS AN EXTRAORDINARILY FEEBLE BNUR-PAGE PAPER CRITICIZING THE COMMISSION FOR BIAS, FOR ACCEPTING WEAK EVIDENCE, AND FOR REACHING CONCLUSIONS UNJUSTIFIED BY THE TESTIMONY AVAILABLE TO IT. AT NO POINT HOWEVER DOES THE DOCUMENT DENY ANY OF THE ALLEGATIONS MADE BY THE COMMISSION. SUMMARY FOLLOWS:

A. COMMISSION GAVE EXCESSIVE WEIGHT TO WITNESSES HOSTILE TO CAE REGIME, SPOKE ONLY WITH A FEW TOP GOCAE PERSONALITIES AND IGNORED LETTER OF SUPPORT FROM 200 EXPATRIATE CENTRAL AFRICANS.

B. ALTHOUGH EMPEROR BOKASSA'S PERSONAL PARTICIPATION IN THES"ALLEGED MASSACRES" WAS ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT POINTS FOR THE COMMISSION, NO PROOF OF THIS PARTICIPATION WAS OFFERED BY THE OPPOSITION. DOCUMENT QUOTES SYLVESTRE BANGUI, ANGE PATASSE, GEORGES BOKASSA AND OTHERS TO THE EFFECT THAT THERE WAS NO DEFINITIVE PROOF OF BOKASSA'S PARTICIPATION. GEORGES BOKASSA IS REPORTED AS SAYING THAT FIRST COUNSELOR (DCM) OF US EMBASSY, "WHO LIVES ACROSS THE NGARAGBA PRISON", HEARD THE SCREAMS OF TORTURED CHILDREN. THIS AFFIRMATION IS "GRATUITOUS" SINCE COUNSELOR DOES NOT LIVE IN LOCALITY DESCRIBED AND DID NOT TESTIFY BEFORE COMMISSION. DOCUMENT QUOTES IVORY COAST AMBASSADOR AS SAYING "NO ONE CAN AFFIRM WITH CERTITUDE THAT EMPEROR PERSONALLY PARTICIPATED".

C. DOCUMENT ACCUSES COMMISSION OF UNSUBSTANTIATED CONCLUSIONS AS REGARDS NUMBER OF DEAD IN JANUARY AND NOTES AN ERROR IN THAT ONE GIRL IS LISTED AS BEING KILLED BOTH IN JANUARY AND IN APRIL.

D. TEXT POUCHED AF/C.

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EXCISE 107 E

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P 111145Z JUN 79
FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4357
INFO AMEMBASSY BANGUI PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY DAKAR PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY KIGALI PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LOME PRIORITY

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E.O. 12065: GDS 6/11/85 (GERLACH, BRYCE ..) OR-P
TAGS: PINS, SHUM, CT
SUBJECT: LIBERIAN MEMBER TO AFRICAN MAGISTRATE'S GROUP INQUIRING INTO ALLEGED KILLING OF SCHOOL CHILDREN IN THE CAE

REF: PARIS 17044

1. C-ENTIRE TEST.

2. MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFRAIRS DENNIS MENTIONED TO CHARGE JUNE 8 THAT SUPREME COURT ASSOCIATE JUSTICE ANGIE E. BROOKS-RANDOLPH HAS BEEN DESIGNATED AS LIBERIAN MEMBER OF THE AFRICAN MAGISTRATES GROUP DESIGNATED TO INQUIRE INTO THE ALLEDGED KILLING OF SCHOOL CHILDREN IN THE CAE AS A RESULT OF THE SIXTH KIGALI FRANCOPHONE SUMMIT. AS FAR AS WE CAN TELL, JUSTICE BROOKS-RANDOLPH IS THE ONLY LIBERIAN NAMED SO FAR TO SERVE ON THE GROUP.

3. JUSTICE BROOKS-RANDOLP IS OFFICIALLY 51 YEARS OLD. SHE
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WAS THE FIRST WOMAN PERMANENT DELEGATE TO THE UNITED NATIONS

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AND IS THE FIRST WOMAN ASSOCIATE JUSTICE IN LIBERIA. SHE WAS PRESIDENT OF TH 24TH UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY IN 1969-70 AND HAS SERVED ON M ROUS U.N. BODIES. IN TERMS OF HER PRESENT ASSIGNMENT IT IS WORTHY TO NOTE THAT IN 1971 SHE WAS PRESIDENT OF THE MILAN CONGRESS ON ADOPTION AND PLACEMENT. IT IS KNOWN THAT SHE HAS ADOPTED OVER FORTY CHILDREN FROM LIBERIA, NORTH AND SOUTH AMERICA AND THE SOUTH PACIFIC. OVER THE YEARS THE ACTUAL FIGURE MAY BE OVER ONE HUNDRED, AS THEY COMPLETE THEIR EDUCATION AND GO OUT ON THEIR OWN.

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P R 121240Z OCT 79
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6630
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AMEMBASSY MADRID
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USDOCOSOUTH NAPLES IT
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AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
AMCONSUL BORDEAUX
AMCONSUL LYON
AMCONSUL MARSEILLE
AMCONSUL NICE
AMCONSUL STRASBOURG

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 PARIS 31982

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MILITARY ADDRESSEES ALSO FOR POLADS

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E.O. 12065: GDS - 10/12/85 (ZIMMERMANN, WARREN) OR-P
TAGS: PINT, PEPR, CR, FR
SUBJECT: BOKASSA'S DIAMONDS: ALLEGATIONS AGAINST GISCARD

1. (C ENTIRE TEXT)

[redacted]

2. BOKASSAGATE: SCANDALS AND WOULD-BE SCANDALS BURST UPON THE FRENCH POLITICAL SCENE WITH CONSIDERABLE REGULARITY, AND NOW 1979 HAS ONE TO CALL ITS OWN. UNDER THE BANNER HEADLINE "WHEN GISCARD POCKETS BOKASSA'S DIAMONDS", THE WIDELY-READ BUT NOT ALWAYS RELIABLE POLITICAL WEEKLY LE CANARD ENCHAINE ACCUSED GISCARD OF ACCEPTING A GIFT OF DIAMONDS FROM BOKASSA IN 1973. IN ITS OCTOBER 10 EDITION, THE CANARD PUBLISHED WHAT IS CLAIMED TO BE A PHOTOSTAT OF A LETTER FROM BOKASSA TO THE CAR DIAMOND AUTHORITY ORDERING THAT A SET OF "... ABOUT THIRTY CARATS" BE PREPARED FOR GISCARD, AT THE TIME FRENCH FINANCE MINISTER. THE WEEKLY ALLEGED THAT GISCARD DID IN FACT ACCEPT THE DIAMONDS, BUT OFFERED NO EVIDENCE TO SUPPORT THAT CLAIM. THE CANARD WENT ON TO CLAIM THAT TWO OF GISCARD'S COUSINS AND HIS BROTHER HAD CLOSE FINANCIAL TIES TO THE CAR AND BENEFITTED FROM BOKASSA'S LARGESSE. AS DID TWO MEMBERS OF GISCARD'S CURRENT CABINET (OLLEY AND BOURGES) AND AFRICAN AFFAIRS ADVISOR JOURNIAC. THE ARTICLE WOUND UP BY ASSERTING THAT THE ELYSEE, FEARFUL THAT EMBARRASSING DOCUMENTS WOULD TURN UP IN POST-BOKASSA BANGUI, ORDERED THE FRENCH MILITARY IN THE CAR TO SEIZE AND REMOVE TO THE FRENCH EMBASSY A LARGE QUANTITY OF DOCUMENTS FROM BOKASSA'S ARCHIVES. THIS, SAID THE CANARD, WAS IN FACT DONE, BUT NOT BEFORE IT OBTAINED ITS "SCOOP".

4. THE PRESS JOINS THE FRAY: ON THE SAME DAY THAT THE CANARD WENT TO PRESS WITH ITS "WATERGATE A LA FRANCAISE", THE LEFT-LEANING DAILY LE MONDE HIT THE STREETS WITH A FRONT-PAGE EDITORIAL CRITICAL OF GISCARD AND TWO FULL PAGES DEVOTED TO THE CANARD'S ALLEGATIONS. LE MONDE'S DETAILED OUTLINE OF THE AFRICAN FINANCIAL CONNECTIONS OF GISCARD'S RELATIVES LEADS OBSERVERS HERE TO BELIEVE THAT THE ARTICLE HAD TO BE PREPARED SEVERAL DAYS IN ADVANCE, I.E., BEFORE THE CANARD STORY BROKE. THE NEXT MORNING (OCTOBER 11) THE PRO-SOCIALIST DAILY LE MATIN GAVE THE STORY HEAVY PLAY, BUT THE COMMUNIST HUMANITE (PROBABLY NOT YET SURE WHAT THE LINE WOULD BE) RELEGATED IT TO AN INSIDE PAGE. THE CONSERVATIVE FIGARO, MUCH TO THE CHAGRIN OF SOME OF ITS REPORTORIAL STAFF, POOH-POOHED THE ENTIRE AFFAIR, TERMING IT A

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P R 121240Z OCT 79
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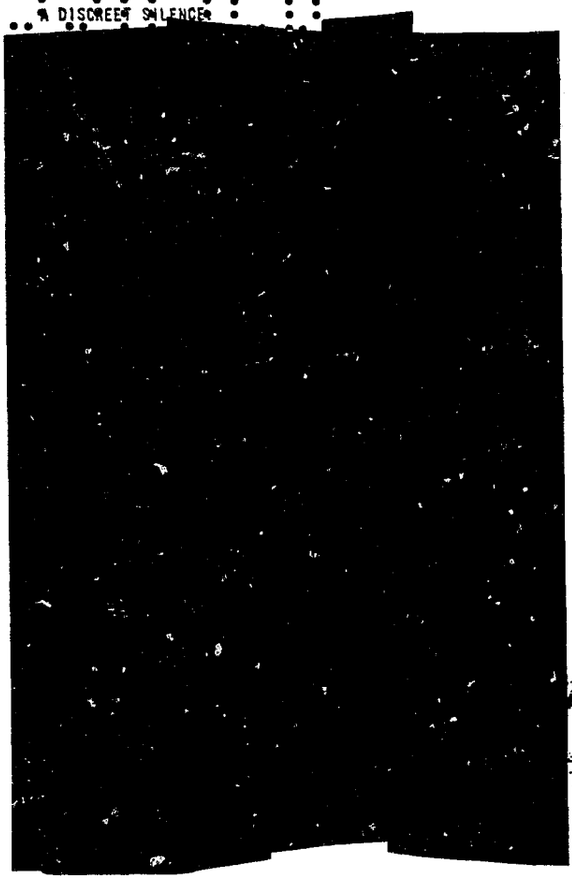
"POLITICAL OPERATION", PRESUMABLY BY THE CANARD AND LE MONDE. PREDICTABLY, THE GOVERNMENT-CONTROLLED TV NETWORKS AND NEWS AGENCY DOWNPLAYED THE ENTIRE AFFAIR.

5. TO THE DEFENSE -- SOFTLY: A SCANDAL, BIG OR SMALL, IS HARDLY WHAT GISCARD NEEDS EIGHTEEN MONTHS BEFORE A PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION THAT HE IS HEAVILY FAVORED TO WIN, BUT THE ELYSEE'S DEFENSE HAS BEEN SINGULARLY LOW-KEY AND SEEMS TO BE BASED ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT REFUSING TO JOIN IN THE POLEMICS WILL HELP TO DEFUSE THE ISSUE. ON THE EVENING OF OCTOBER 10, THE ELYSEE SPOKESMAN ISSUED A RATHER LAME STATEMENT RECALLING THE "TRADITIONAL NATURE" OF EXCHANGES OF GIFTS AND STATING THAT GISCARD HAD RECEIVED NO GIFTS "HAVING EITHER THE NATURE OR THE VALUE MENTIONED IN CERTAIN MEDIA". PRESUMABLY REFERRING TO DEMANDS BY LE MONDE AND LE MATIN THAT GISCARD CONFIRM OR DENY THE ALLEGATIONS, THE SPOKESMAN MADE A "PERSONAL COMMENT" THE NEXT DAY IN WHICH HE SAID: "THE PRESIDENT DOES NOT NEED TO JUSTIFY HIMSELF AGAINST INFORMATION THAT IS DEFAMATORY OR THAT STEMS FROM AN ORCHESTRATED CAMPAIGN". IT IS WORTH NOTING HERE THAT THERE IS NOTHING IN FRENCH LAW WHICH PROHIBITS GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS FROM ACCEPTING -- AND KEEPING -- GIFTS FROM OTHER STATES.

6. NEXT THE POLITICIANS -- CAREFULLY: THE CANARD STORY IS NOT AN UNMITIGATED BLESSING FOR GISCARD'S POLITICAL ENEMIES. THE SOCIALISTS, WHO HAVE THE MOST TO GAIN FROM EMBARRASSING GISCARD, ARE TREADING VERY CAREFULLY. MITTERRAND'S LIEUTENANTS TELL US THEY ARE NOT CERTAIN THAT THE "INCRIMINATING" DOCUMENT IS AUTHENTIC, AND EVEN IF IT IS, THAT IT IS DANGEROUS TO LAUNCH A FRONTAL ATTACK ON AN INCUMBENT PRESIDENT. THE SOCIALISTS HAVE SO FAR ONLY REITERATED THEIR DEMAND FOR A PARLIAMENTARY INQUIRY ON THE FRENCH INTERVENTION IN BANGUI; THEY HOPE THAT IN KEEPING THAT ISSUE ALIVE THE DIAMOND STORY WILL NOT BE FORGOTTEN EITHER. THE COMMUNISTS SO FAR HAVE ONLY DEMANDED THE PUBLICATION OF A LIST OF GIFTS RECEIVED BY GOF OFFICIALS OVER THE LAST TEN YEARS AND DO NOT SEEM INCLINED TO RUN WITH THE ISSUE. THE GAULLISTS THUS FAR HAVE MAINTAINED A DISCREET SILENCE.



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ACTION AF-10

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AMEMBASSY BRAZZAVILLE IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE IMMEDIATE
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E.O.12065: N/A
TAGS: PINT, PINS, CT
SUBJ: COUP D'ETAT IN CAE

1. AT ABOUT 2300 HOURS SEPTEMBER 20 FRENCH AIRCRAFT AND MILITARY ARRIVED BANGUI AIRPORT WITH FORMER PRIMIN DAVID DACKO, OCCUPIED AIRPORT AND KEY POSITIONS IN BANGUI INCLUDING RADIO. DACKO IS BROADCASTING ANNOUNCEMENT IN FRENCH AND SANGHO RE-ESTABLISHING CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC AND "GOVERNMENT OF PUBLIC WELFARE". ANNOUNCEMENT CALLS ON LIBYA NOT TO INTERVENE IN ESSENTIALLY INTERNAL CAR PROBLEMS AND ON SOVIETS TO CEASE SUBVERSIVE ACTI-
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VITIES. DACKO ASKS ARMED FORCES TO REMAIN CALM AND SUPPORT NEW

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GOVERNMENT.

2. EMPEROR BOKASSA DEPARTED SEPTEMBER 19 REPORTEDLY FOR LIBYA WITH LARGE DELEGATION APPARENTLY IN SEARCH OF ADDITIONAL FUNDING.

3. FRENCH EMBASSY AND SENIOR CENTRAL AFRICAN OFFICIALS WERE EVIDENTLY NOT RPT NOT INFORMED OF COUP ATTEMPT.

4. BANGUI IS ENTIRELY CALM AND THERE HAVE BEEN NO RPT NO REPORTS OF VIOLANCE. EMBASSY IS CHECKING ON WELFARE AMCITS BUT WE BELIEVE ALL ARE SECURE. HOWEVER, SINCE AIRPORT IS CLOSED, WE BELIEVE COMMERCIAL FLIGHTS ARE BEING TURNED BACK. WILL REPORT FURTHER AS SITUATION DEVELOPS. "VIVE LA REPUBLIQUE".COOKE

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